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shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

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Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *welo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

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Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

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Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nesu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupale*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakai* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *tukatuto te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

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753 776 The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

753 Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea maakglialia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wonewone, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nimo*, anything tangled; *vona*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *kalamea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *kalou*, eel; *uuke*, octopus; *uluyiva*, sea porcupine; *uluyele*, variety of star fish; *uuakoa*, univalve shell; *komu*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupukaua*, a rank seaweed; *pitipiki*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipoa*, a crab; *koovu*, a robber crab; *kalomi*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molokau*, milipede; *veli*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, sting, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

752 759 Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yivayiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yivayiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *manamana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a popgun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

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not hereditary. Each practitioner started afresh. Induction into the ranks came through dream experience, believed to be given the man by the god of his lineage. The dream (*miti*) was either of a medical nature, or in some other way made plain that the dreamer was chosen by his god to cure sickness. In some modern dreams recounted in Pukapuka, the lineage gods as causative agents were succeeded by European doctors of medicine. An example of this is the following dream recounted by a native doctor:

> One night I had a dream in which I was taken to a *vale maki* (hospital). It was in Tahiti, I think, though my body was in Pukapuka. I saw two *tuunuga*[a] *maki* (doctors) in the room. One man, who was the chief, was standing beside a bed, the other man was leaning over someone lying on the bed. The one leaning over the bed straightened up as I came into the room, came close to me and said, "Come with me, e toku mouli (O pupil of my eye)." Then we three approached the bed. The chief doctor said to me, "I will show you how to treat sickness. I will show you all the parts of the body, so you will know what sickness is." Then the doctors showed me the two methods of *lomilomi* physical therapy. They cut open the body and pointed out to me the various organs, told me of the sickness affecting each part, how this sickness could be diagnosed, and how treated. These doctors were white men. After they showed me everything, they told me to go back to Pukapuka, but to dream of them any time I wanted assistance. I woke up in a normal condition, wondering why I should have been selected for this dream.

This informant had several dreams in which he has both procured status from, and asked information of, white doctors when called to treat sicknesses he could not understand. He did not use any technique to have these dreams. The old pattern was evident in the feeling of the initial dream that further contact with the source of inspiration could be obtained when meeting with unfamiliar types of sickness, though the medicine man of old consulted his lineage gods in every case of sickness brought to him, whether familiar or not.

For his services, the medicine man was paid whatever the patient thought fit. A small food gift was usually sufficient. He received ample recompense for his trouble in the social prestige that accrued to him as a prominent individual of the community.

CAUSATION AND TREATMENT

For treatment in former days, the sick person sent for or more frequently went to the house of the medicine man, who questioned the patient about the sickness, the location and nature of pain. After the first diagnosis the medicine man consulted the gods of the lineage or the special gods of medicine by whom the sickness might be cured. Communication with the gods was held in the house of the medicine man and in the presence of the patient, or in the god house of the medicine man if he were at the same time a practicing priest. The technique of communication was by the pigeon-

[a] The Polynesian word *tuunuga*, cognate of Maori *tohunga* (expert), is now applied to white medical specialists. It was formerly not used in reference to priests, seers, or medicine men but was an ordinary adjective denoting skilled, expert, applied to any other art or craft.

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any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*kiko papala*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*kaka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuaniu*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokayoka ki te wulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*vae matakelekeles*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*wakiwaki na mangamanga lima*).

The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

1. Tauasa was a Mulliwatu man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

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ghosts. These were their properties, tabu, sickness causing knots, malos, trees, flowers.

Tamate was a priest of Te Laupapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *lenga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiva*, the *vete*, the *ouniei*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

2. Wallen. Wallen was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyeu was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned time. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person diseased by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malaulu*, the *ewe*, the *wuti hava*, the *we*, the *kaloma*, the *atule:* when he chopped, the small fish rubbed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *tamaakomako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the medicine as a poultice (*sucua*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *tamaakomako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The enema was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tutale*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

756 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,

776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Milimili relates the help of Tangata-

539 no-te-Moana: Milimili was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Milimili's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporizing with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Milimili, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata